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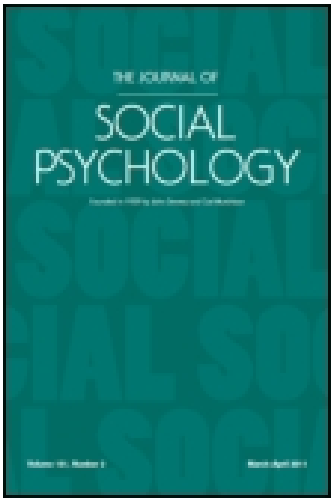

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Dominance, Personality, and Social Behavior in Women

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DOMINANCE, PERSONALITY, AND SOCIAL BEHAVIOR IN WOMEN* **

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A. INTRODUCTION

This paper is a report of results obtained in a clinical-experimental research on the interrelations between dominance-feeling (ego-level) and various other attributes of personality, social behavior, and sexual behavior. The sexual data will be presented in another paper (14) and will not be discussed further here.

More specifically, the attributes of personality that we have related to dominance-feeling, and which we will discuss here are such characteristics as feelings of shyness, timidity, embarrassability, self-confidence, self-consciousness, inhibition, conventionality, modesty, fearfulness, poise, inferiority feelings, social ease, and the like. A previous paper has dealt with the general concepts involved in the research, definitions of the terms involved, and a general description of the main trends in the data, together with some of their implications (16). We shall repeat here only what is necessary for clarity.

1. *Definitions*

a. Dominance-feeling (or ego-level), is an evaluation of the self; operationally defined, it is what the subject says about herself in an intensive interview, after a good rapport has been established. High dominance-feeling empirically involves good self-confidence, self-assurance, high evaluation of the self, feelings of general capability or superiority, and lack of shyness, timidity, self-consciousness, or embarrassment. Low-dominance-feeling is seen as lack of self-confidence, self-assurance, and self-esteem; instead there are extensive feelings of general and specific inferiority, shyness, timidity, fearfulness, self-consciousness. Such people are easily embarrassed,

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blush frequently, are generally silent and tend to be incapable of normal, easy, outgoing social relationships or forward behavior.

b. Dominance status is a social relationship; it is an expression of social position with respect to another person, and is always relative to this other person. A person is in dominance-status with respect to another, when he dominates this other person either overtly in behavior or implicitly in feeling. The dominated person is said to be in subordinate status.

c. Dominance behavior is sharply differentiated from dominance-feeling since there is rarely a one-to-one relationship between them. Dominance-feeling is only one of the determiners of dominance behavior. Other determiners are dominance status, compensatory efforts, specific training, the specific situation, and cultural pressures, both local and general. Diagnosis of dominance-feeling from dominance behavior alone is apt to be inexact. Examples of dominance behavior are bursts of temper, aggressive behavior, insistence on one's rights, free expression of resentment or hostility, openly overriding rules or conventions, arguing freely, etc.

2. *General Purposes of the Research*

Originally, our preoccupation with dominance in human beings was a comparative study, in which the attempt was to discover how much of the data found in infra-human primates (9-13) could also be found in human beings, and what similarities and differences there were. Careful analysis of our data, particularly those on sexuality, has convinced us that this comparative study has a more important purpose, namely, to study in a semi-experimental fashion, the influence of the addition of important cultural determiners to our primate heritage. That is, our data may be set up in such a fashion as to make the presence or absence of culture (interiorized) the independent variable. This is a far cry from the original interest which motivated the study of dominance in monkeys, namely to test some aspects of the Adlerian and Freudian psychology.

In our struggles with new methodologies, new questions and purposes have arisen. As we found ourselves studying the age-old problem of the interrelations of culture and personality from a comparative viewpoint, much new light was thrown on various theoretical and practical problems of personality, and new discoveries were made in the field of sexuality, an aspect which in the beginning was quite incidental.

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Another purpose motivating this research and its particular methods derives from the author's dissatisfaction with several psychoanalytic beliefs. Analysts have usually been unable to see any half-way point between their highly individual, clinical interpretive technique and those of scientific psychology. The same is also usually true in academic circles. The writer has felt for some time also that neurotics and normal people might be qualitatively as well as quantitatively different. This impression derived mainly from his observation that many of the Freudian mechanisms could be seen overtly and superficially in well adjusted people, in spite of the fact that Freud describes them as unconscious, repressed, and hidden. Such well adjusted people seemed to be almost completely understandable without any reference to the concept of "unconscious." On the other hand, the writer's experience with neurotics convinced him just as completely that such people could be understood *only* with the aid of Freudian concepts.

Our research was designed therefore so as (*a*) to eschew interpretation, (*b*) to use lay concepts, (*c*) to use "normal" subjects, and (*d*) to ignore the concept of the unconscious. We have taken as our data the subjects' own statements, *not* our opinion or interpretation of them. Presumably, other investigators would come to the same conclusion if stenographic records were available. Contrast this with the interpretation of a dream, in which different results must usually be obtained by different interpreters. As to the normality of our subjects, we imply, only that they are fairly competent to meet the ordinary problems of life, they have no functional physical symptoms, and that they have no incapacitating compulsions, manias, phobias or anxieties.

B. Method

The main method used in the research was what may be called the "intensive interview," or "personality investigation by conversational probing." Since this procedure differs in many ways from what is ordinarily understood by "interview," it may be well to describe it in some detail.

In the first place, questioning or rather, conversation, was started only after satisfactory rapport had been established. This meant mostly a frank, trusting, friendly relationship, resembling somewhat the transference of the psychoanalysts.

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In the second place, the investigator subordinated objectively and standardized procedure to the necessities of the separate situations presented by each individual subject. Each one was treated as a unique individuality to be understood and handled in a different way. The investigator attempted always to be sensitive and adaptable to these widely varying situations. He conceived his first task to be the understanding of the person before him *as an individual,* and only then to attempt to follow through the specific demands of the research. The technique then is something of a fusion of the experimental and clinical approaches.

The third difference was the extreme flexibility of the interview itself. In the beginning stages of the investigation, the interview was entirely exploratory. The only consideration that determined the choice of question and guided the lines of investigation were the facts and hypotheses that had been obtained in previous experiments with infra-human primates, which we have already reported. With each subject more was learned and lists of questions began to be possible. These lists expanded as the number of subjects grew, even though questions found to be fruitless were dropped from time to time.

These "questions" were in any case, no more than a list of cues for the conversation. For instance, the word "self-consciousness" served as a reminder to find out all that was possible about this feeling in the particular subject. No set questions were asked, but the procedure followed was the one that at the moment gave promise of best success with the individual being talked with at the time. The particular procedure used depended on the particular situation, the particular subject, her level of dominance, her social background, her coöperation, her loquacity, etc.

As a result, our data are not quite comparable for all subjects, not in the sense that they do not mean the same thing when we do have data, but rather that we do not have complete data for all subjects.

In addition, a good deal of our knowledge of low-dominance people was obtained in a somewhat scrappy form. We have described in a previous paper the great difficulty we experienced in obtaining low-dominance women for our interviews. We supplemented the data we obtained from our subjects, in every way possible, forming friendships, observing behavior, questioning their families and friends, etc.

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Such interviewing must always to some extent remain an art. One must acquire a sensitivity to unspoken attitudes, to hidden resentments, to slight antagonisms, and one must be able to sense the exact moment when trust changes to suspicion. Some subjects resent being treated coolly and objectively like guinea pigs, others will permit no other kind of relationship. Each one must be felt out and understood separately before work begins, and it must be understood that this is a two-way process, for the subject wishes to know that the investigator is trustworthy. He is put into a position of power and dominance and must be felt by the subject to be worthy of it, or else her data are useless, if indeed, she does not break off the whole procedure at once.

1. *Subjects*

About 130 women and 15 men were used. Of the latter we shall not speak since the work with men is still in process. Practically all of these women were college women of college intelligence, between the ages of 20 and 28, of middle class urban background. About three out of four were married. About 75 per cent were of Protestant, 20 per cent of Jewish and 5 per cent of Catholic parentage. This is then a study of a fairly homogeneous group and must be considered a *highly selected* portion of the general population. *Our data are presumed to be true only for this group except where the contrary is specifically stated.* We have found important differences when studying different sections of the population.

C. Results

1. *Self-Consciousness*

There is a negative correlation between dominance-feeling and self-consciousness. This is perhaps one of the clearest relationships we have found. The most important problem for subjects low in dominance-feeling is themselves. On the other hand, for our high cases, the most important problem tends to be an external one. All of our low dominance cases, men and women, were completely preoccupied with the shortcomings of their own personalities and described themselves as self-conscious in a general sense. This was also true to a lesser degree for about 30-50 per cent of the middle dominance cases, and for perhaps 10 per cent of the upper dominance cases.

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In the latter group where it did occur, it was for very different reasons which will be discussed below. As we went up the range of dominance-feeling, this self-consciousness tended to be restricted to fewer and fewer situations, whereas at the bottom of the scale, the cases were self-conscious in practically *all* social situations, and in some situations, even when they were alone.

This spread of self-consciousness may be envisaged in terms of "social radius." If the center of the social circle is the "self," the immediate family may be thought of as the smallest "social radius," other relatives as a somewhat larger radius, friends as still larger, and acquaintances, neighbors, strangers, and strangers with dominance status as increasingly larger. We can say then that in general, self-consciousness, timidity, bashfulness, increase in all our subjects with social radius. Also, however, we find that the effective psychological social radius grows smaller and smaller as we go lower and lower in the scale of dominance-feeling or ego-level. That is, as the social radius increases, the point at which self-consciousness begins depends on dominance-feeling. Thus a low case may feel at ease and be able to be normally outgoing and expressive with her mother and sister only. Her brother and father and of course everyone else in her social sphere may arouse self-consciousness. For a middle case, self-consciousness may not be present when with any of the members of the immediate family or when with close relatives or a few close friends. For the high case, it may never be present, except when confronting a large critical group of strangers, or in making a speech.

2. *Embarrassability*

Generally low dominance people are more easily and often embarrassed; high dominance cases are rarely embarrassed except in extreme situations. Two or three of our high cases claimed that so far as they could remember they had never felt embarrassed and could not think of any situations in which they would react in this fashion. As we go up the scale we find again what we found with self-consciousness, that it increases with social radius, and also that the psychologically effective point in the social radius is a function of dominance-feeling. Furthermore if we were to construct a scale of embarrassing situations in terms of their "extremeness," we should

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find that as we go up the dominance distribution, it takes more and more "extreme" situations to embarrass.

It should be emphasized that we refer here to the *feeling* of embarrassment as known to the subject herself. Often this feeling was not accompanied by obvious embarrassment behavior. By obvious embarrassment behavior we mean blushing, stammering, turning the eyes away, observable tremor, unsuitable verbalization, obvious disorganization of verbalization, obvious change of subject of conversation, etc. Indirect embarrassment behavior might be laughing or giggling hysterically or uneasily, saying something silly or inapropos, or any one of dozens of other individual behaviors which are usually known only to the subject herself as a behavior accompaniment of embarrassment feeling. Sometimes the subject is certain that there is no behavior consequence whatsoever. In many cases the writer could observe no such behavior even though assured later that the subject had felt embarrassed.

3. *Shyness, Timidity*

Our findings need not be described in detail since they were in general exactly like our findings for self-consciousness and embarrassability both for feeling and behavior. It is our impression, however, that if we were to categorize people as either shy or not (neglecting the fact that in actuality it is quantitatively graded), we should find the breaking point in the dominance distribution to be somewhat lower than for self-consciousness or embarrassability. That is, few cases, and those almost entirely low, were willing to describe themselves as, in general, shy or timid people.

4. *Fearfulness*

Our subjects differentiated timidity from fear in a crude fashion, the former seeming more often to be applied to social situations, the latter to the outside world. Also they were timid when they knew no harm could come to them, fearful when physical harm might be involved. There is a crude tendency for fearfulness to correlate negatively with dominance-feeling. That is, low dominance people are afraid of more things and situations than high dominance people, and are more intensely afraid than high dominance people when the same stimulus is involved.

There seems also to be a fairly clear tendency for them to be

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afraid of more things that do not seem objectively to be fear-arousing, that is to have "unreasonable" fears. Horney (5) has differentiated between fear and anxiety on a similar basis. Fears for her are commensurate with the objective situation; anxieties are not, but seem unreasonable and out of proportion to the objective danger of the stimulus or situation. If we accept these definitions, we can say that low dominance cases tend to have somewhat more anxieties as well as more fears.

The correlations with dominance-feeling are not as distinct nor as high as is the case with self-consciousness or shyness. We find fears throughout the whole distribution of dominance-feeling, sometimes even in our highest cases. Such few fears as do exist in our high cases seem to be quite specific and unrelated to the general personality, and remind us inevitably of the behavioristic explanation for fear, namely as a specific conditioning which is related only to the intensity of the original conditioning situation. On the other hand the main trend in our data would indicate that to explain all fearfulness in such simple terms would be highly naïve. Undoubtedly we have found in the fact of individual differences in dominance-feeling at least a partial explanation of the fact that of many people going through an objectively similar conditioning situation, e.g., war, some will be conditioned, others not. In any of the cases of phobia described in literature, we may be sure that the original situation assigned as the sole cause of the phobia, has in many other cases been inadequate to have permanent effect. Low-dominance people ("fearful" people) carry within themselves greater possibilities for fear conditioning than do high dominance people. This hypothesis is offered here as one that can very easily be put to experimental test.

5. *Self-Confidence*

Taken as a general quality, we find more and more self-confidence as we go higher and higher in the dominance distribution. At the extremes of the distribution, we find that *all* high dominance cases describe themselves as self-confident; *all* low dominance cases describe themselves as lacking in general self-confidence.

We must realize, however, that it is necessary to differentiate between self-confidence as a generalized personality characteristic, and self-confidence in specific abilities, tasks, or situations. The

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same person who describes herself as completely lacking in what she may call "self-confidence in general," will describe herself as self-confident in her home, cooking, sewing, or being a mother. The intellectual may be relatively self-confident in his writing or teaching, and lack this quality in all other aspects of his life.

This is not to say, however, that the two aspects of self-confidence are completely independent. This is not the case. Our conclusion is that the general level of self-confidence (which may be called confidence in the self or in the personality) pervades and alters the specific self-confidence (which may be called confidence in an ability). The low dominance case almost always underestimates to a greater or lesser degree her specific abilities and endowments; the high dominance person usually gauges her abilities accurately and realistically, or else in a few cases tends to over-estimate. This statement is true for the high dominance case only when her attention is called to the problem. Usually she does not think about her abilities or lack of them; she is more apt to think of the task in hand rather than of herself.

To put this hypothesis in a form that may be checked experimentally, we are willing to hazard the prediction that given equal intelligence in a low dominance and in a high dominance subject, the former will have less confidence in her intellectual ability, her level of intellectual aspiration will be lower, and it is even possible that the intellectual achievement may be lower also. Another possible experimental check at another level would be as follows; if high and low dominance cases are rated objectively for facial beauty or attractiveness to men, and are then asked to rate themselves, we are willing to predict that the low cases will estimate themselves as less beautiful and less attractive than the high dominance group, even when the groups are equated on the basis of the objective ratings.

6. *Poise, Self Possession*

Low dominance people feel that they lack poise and self possession; high dominance people do not ordinarily feel this. This feeling of lack of poise is not necessarily reflected in the externally observable behavior in ordinary situations. That is, the objective observer may observe no such lack. In a fair number of cases, of low dominance cases, they themselves tended to realize or almost realized that this was true (that they looked well poised even if they did not feel

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so), but this realization had less effect than might be expected on their feeling of lack of poise.

Even in terms of behavior more low dominance cases than high dominance cases will be judged by the observer to lack poise. As might be expected, this becomes even more true, when the situation is more "extreme." In our interviews which are often extremely embarrassing for some subjects, this discrepancy in poise became very obvious.

7. *Feelings of Inferiority*[1]

We have discussed these data in another paper (16) in some detail and it is not necessary to give more than a brief sketch here. It was our finding that less and less inferiority feelings are found as we go higher and higher in the dominance scale. It was found furthermore that these inferiority feelings have little relation to matter-of-fact inferiority and superiority. That is, a low dominance case may think herself homely even if she is judged by five men who know her, to be very pretty. Our high dominance cases had no feelings of inferiority, but were very realistic in their recognition of their matter of fact inferiorities. That is, a low dominance girl who has to wear spectacles is apt to think of herself as repulsive in her appearance and to worry a good deal about it; a high dominance case will recognize that she has weak eyes, and that her spectacles are not apt to improve her appearance, but she does not worry about it, nor will she feel inferior because she has to wear them.

Another illustration is a low-middle dominance case who felt inferior because she had red hair and felt that no man would ever love her because of it. She rated herself very low in beauty and attractiveness to men. Four men who knew her rated her as above the average in beauty and about average in attractiveness. A high dominance subject was found who had about the same shade of red hair. When asked how she felt about its effect on her attractiveness, she thought that it was very attractive to some men and not

[1]See also in this connection Sears' excellent paper (20), which has just come to hand. His tests of *Ideas of Reference and of Self-Criticism* are essentially tests of low dominance-feeling. As we would expect, they show high correlation ($r = +.644$). Our phrasing of this correlation is that it is high because it measures two aspects of the same thing, i.e., low dominance-feeling. Sears also confirms our finding that there is little relationship between feelings of inferiority (self-criticism) and matter-of-fact inferiorities.

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at all to others—"just like blond hair or black hair," she said, and added, "anyway, it doesn't matter to anyone with any sense."

8. *Conventionality, Morality, Rules*

Our high dominance people are less conventional than our low dominance people. This holds true for any aspect of conventionality, whether it concerns conventional morality or day-to-day etiquette. The former are apt to make their own etiquette, and to pay no attention to what they call "silly," e.g., man giving seat to them, standing up when girl comes into room, walking on outside. Indeed they are apt to despise a conventional person, man or woman, as making an important matter out of what they consider essentially unimportant. Such women prefer to be treated "like a person, not like a woman." They prefer to be independent, stand on their own feet, and generally do not care for concessions that imply they are inferior, weak, or that they need special attention and cannot take care of themselves.

This is not to imply that they cannot behave conventionally. They do when it is necessary or desirable for any reason, but they do not take the ordinary conventions seriously. A common phrase is, "I can be as nice and sweet and clinging vine as anyone else, but my tongue is in my cheek."

Of course there are other variables that enter into the determination of this behavior. Women from the South are generally more conventional both in behavior and inner conviction. Behavior with strangers is apt to be more conventional than behavior with friends. Behavior with older people "who wouldn't understand" is more conventional than behavior with friends of like age. Catholics are more conventional than non-Catholics. All these determiners are, to some extent at least, independent of dominance feeling, so that correlation with conventionality is apt to be low except in homogeneous groups.

Our very highest cases have sometimes said that they had no code of morals or ethics. They felt they could do *anything* if necessary, even to the extent of killing without a qualm. They felt their own ends to be very important and were willing to override all sorts of opposition. This feeling did not often appear in behavior, however. Another way of illustrating what is meant here is to point out that people in our highest bracket of dominance-feeling

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often could not remember a single thing that they felt guilty about, or that had bothered their conscience. "If I did it, it was all right." In the paper on sexuality, it is pointed out that among the cases in this highest bracket, promiscuity, masturbation, homosexual experiences, and perversions of all sorts were often found. Not one of these women had guilty feelings about any of these. Some of them recognized that some of their behavior was objectively bad or undesirable, but there was no affective reaction of self-castigation or shame. A typical comment was "I guess that was a pretty slimy thing to do, and I guess I won't do it again, but I've never thought about it since, and it doesn't bother me a bit." This was in connection with seducing a very young boy.

Rules per se generally mean nothing to these women. It is only when they approve of the rules and can see and approve of the purpose behind them that they will obey them. This is not to say that they live anarchic lives. This is very far from being the case, for they are strong, purposeful and *do* live by rules, but these rules are autonomous and personally arrived at. It is not that they lack codes of decency, friendship, obligation or duty, but that these codes are apt not to be "conventional." Nor do they *like* to break rules simply for the sake of breaking them. They simply weigh them and tend to pay no attention to them if they are found wanting.

Low dominance women are very different. They are apt to be very moral, ethical, and usually do not dare to break rules, even when they (rarely) disapprove of them. Their morality and ethics are usually entirely conventional. That is, they do what they have been taught to do by their parents, their teachers, or their religion. The dictum of authority is usually not questioned openly, and they are more apt to approve of the status quo in every field of life, religious, economic, educational, and political. For instance it is our general impression (not yet checked) that they show somewhat the tendency to be political conservatives, while our higher dominance cases tend to be liberal or radical.[2]

A higher percentage of high dominance women smoke and drink. It is the compensating person who deliberately breaks rules just for

[2]It might be well to stress the highly selected character of our subjects by pointing out that high dominance women in the business world tended definitely to political conservatism and to the attitude of "the race is to the strong, and the devil take the (weak) hindmost."

the sake of breaking them and who is aggressively unconventional. Low-dominance women also seem to be more honest in the ordinary day-to-day sense, e.g., money, keeping promises, not stealing, etc. The evidence for this is, however, not adequate.

9. *Introversion, Extraversion*

Our results indicate that the dimension of introversion-extraversion is not as fundamental as has been thought in personality, nor is it as useful as has been claimed. Undoubtedly deeper-lying classifications of the fundamental dimensions of personality will cross cut it and make it unnecessary.

With relation to dominance-feeling, introversion must be split into at least two aspects. First it seems to be, in lower dominance women, a product of failure and rebuff in early social life. It is an adjustment on an inward basis because of failure or non-acceptance of the more fundamental tendency that can be found in many of them to turn outward in the social adjustment. We have for instance, a case in which the most extreme introversion, which was interpreted as psychological defense or guard against being hurt socially, was turned to a fair degree of extraversion by a series of successes. Another subject, asked why she did not try to get some fun from her social life, said that all her hurt had been from people, and she had learned that a good defense against further damage was to make her inward world more important. She was able to trace back in some detail the beginnings of her introversion in a bad family situation.

Another aspect or kind of introversion seems to be independent of dominance-feeling, or fortuitous social history, seeming instead to be an unchangeable, deeply characteristic facet of the personality in which it occurs. It may occur in high dominance people. While it is impossible to describe in satisfactory detail, we may say it seems to be partially related to the independent variable of sociability that we have already discussed (16). These are the people who find within themselves many delights that are equal or superior in attractiveness to what can be found outside. Their own introspective experience is often poignantly beautiful and important to them at the same time that it may be quite undescribable. There is some indication that it is to be expected more often in the aesthetically endowed.

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In such people it is not to be interpreted as a psychological defense, for when it occurs in high dominance people, it may go along with excellent social facility and ease, with a wide circle of friends, and with perfect behavior in the social sphere. Social life is undoubtedly enjoyed by these people a good deal of the time, but it is apt to be thought of as an obligation, something which is demanded by others. Such people will treasure and look forward to the moments when they can be alone, and are apt to sigh with relief when this is possible. Such "introversion" is not defensive.

Even if we neglect this distinction, we should still expect to find a fair correlation between a test for dominance-feeling and a test for extraversion, since the latter type is found much less often than the former.

10. *Happiness*

No clear clinical relationship of ego-level with happiness was found. Cases at any part of the scale are apt to be happy or unhappy, and it is our tentative conclusion that happiness is more closely related with ego-security, than with ego-level. If anything, somewhat more of the low dominance people are on the unhappy side, but the difference is small enough to make us unsure. A very important difference is found, however, between the *causes* of unhappiness. The unhappiness of the low or middle dominance woman, is far more apt to be caused by worry over the personality and its shortcomings, inferiority feelings, lack of boy friends, lack of social adjustment, etc. The unhappiness of the high dominance woman is more apt to be caused by external problems, a career, an unsatisfactory husband, conflict with family, economic worries, etc.

We see here again an instance of the general tendency to outgoingness that comes with higher dominance-feeling, as opposed to the preoccupation with self and defensive inward-turning that we tend to find in low dominance-feeling. This is probably also a partial product of the fact that has already been discussed (16), namely, the generalized cultural approval of higher than average dominance-feeling in women. The ideal personality extant in the cultural tradition will help to determine one's own evaluation of one's personality. Being close to the ideal will validate one's good self-opinion; differing markedly from it will cause feelings of difference and probably also self-depreciation. This is to some extent true of the women who are higher in dominance-feeling than the

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ideal range, but is much more marked in those who are definitely lower than the ideal.

11. *Brooding, Worrying, Moodiness*

No very clear relation with dominance-feeling has been found, to our surprise. There seems to be only a slight tendency for the low cases to worry and brood more than the higher dominance cases. Again we find, however, that the subject of worry is different. The lower cases tend to worry about personality and social adjustment; the higher ones about more external things. To some extent also the low cases tend to worry about little things, and to think about them for a longer period.

It is perhaps necessary to appeal for fuller explanations to some such variable as emotional cyclicity which would seem to be independently variable for ego-level. An alternative independent variable may be one that we have called very vaguely "ego-security," and which we understand only to a slight extent. This will be discussed below.

12. *Religious Feeling*

We have found fairly definite tendency for low dominance women to be more religious than high dominance women. Generally our subjects have not been a very religious group, but practically all that called themselves religious were at the middle of the distribution or below. This finding calls to mind the distinction that William James made between the "tender-minded" and the "tough-minded." It is the tender-minded person who *needs* religion. In our work we found that religious faith is a definite support for our low dominance women. In some cases, it is even difficult to think what they would do without it. Two low cases who were only vaguely religious were definitely suicidal in their fantasies. *None* of the religious ones were. Probably the best way to describe our low cases who were devoutly religious is to call them "secure." This suggests as a simple experiment with therapy, an attempt at religious exhortation with low cases who are not "secure."

Our high cases were practically none of them religious except sometimes in a very vague sense; where it was found, it tended to be intellectualized and social-ethical rather than dogmatic and submissive. A good many scoffed at the idea, in spite of the fact that very few of our cases did not receive religious training of some sort.

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They did not seem to *need* religion in the same way as the low cases did. Generally they tended to be "tough-minded" about it, especially in the higher levels of the distribution. The low percentage of religiousness in our subjects makes it necessary to emphasize the fact that we have been dealing with a very specially selected sample of the population, and therefore cannot vouch for the more general validity of the data.

13. *Masculinity-Feminity*

We shall adduce reasons in a forthcoming paper for our dissatisfaction with this concept as a dimension of personality. Suffice it to say, in advance of presentation of complete evidence, that it is our finding that, from a psychological point of view, a high dominance woman is more like a high dominance man than she is like a low dominance woman. This of course is not true for (*a*) anatomical and physiological makeup, and (*b*) the external details of social conventionality, e.g., clothes, training, etc. If we speak of inner personality, however (see below), we must conclude that it is better either (*a*) to describe as masculine, both high dominance men and women, and as feminine, low dominance men and women; or (*b*) drop the terms altogether because they are so misleading.

Our high dominance women feel more akin to men than to women in tastes, attitudes, prejudices, aptitudes, philosophy, and inner personality in general. They ordinarily get along better with men in general than with women in general. They are apt to consider women to be small, mean, catty, petty, trivial, etc. Completely aside from sexual considerations, they prefer the company of men to that of women. Many of the qualities that are considered in our culture to be "manly," are seen in them in high degree, e.g., leadership, strength of character, strong social purpose, emancipation from trivialities, lack of fear, shyness, etc. They do not ordinarily care to be housewives or cooks alone, but wish to combine marriage with a career. Often they do this with the intention of maintaining their independence and self-respect in their own eyes. Their salary may come to no more than the salary of a housekeeper, but they feel other work to be more important than sewing, cooking, etc. They tend to like gambling, drinking, smoking, and dangerous sports.

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14. *Modesty*

As we might now expect, the lower the dominance-feeling, the more modesty we find both in feeling and behavior. This was rated more specifically by determining the attitude toward nudity in various situations. For instance, none of the low cases would find it possible to go to a nudist camp. On the contrary, some of them undressed not even in front of their mothers or sisters. A physical examination by a physician, even if female, was thought of as excruciatingly embarrassing and to be avoided if at all possible. On the other hand the high cases had a much wider "social radius" for nudity, and in some cases definitely liked the idea of a nudist camp. Examination by a physician meant nothing to them, and even hypothetical nudity in various possible embarrassing situations did not bother them, at least to think about. A good many of them reported remembered situations in which they were nude but unembarrassed, even though they thought other women might be.

It was interesting to notice that this difference in feeling of modesty reflected itself in the clothes worn by the subjects, the way they sat and moved about, the manner of speech and its content, etc. For instance, a check showed, after this was first noticed, that low cases rarely sat with their legs crossed or stretched out or spread apart, nor with their knees showing. All of these were noticed frequently in higher dominance cases.

No low cases ever cursed or blasphemed or used "smutty words" or expressions, while this was fairly common among the high cases. One can also construct a series of scaled attitudes toward risque stories and find such attitudes to be fairly closely correlated with dominance-level. Low dominance women hate such stories, middle dominance women tolerate them but do not like them except within a very limited social radius, high dominance women are apt to like listening to them as well as telling them.

In general we have found that it is practically impossible for low cases to discuss any aspect of sex without discomfort, embarrassment, or suspicion of the investigator's motives. It is a subject always highly charged with emotion, one in which objectivity becomes impossible. It is not too uncommon to find in such women a deliberate eschewing of all discussion and reading about sex. Some literally wish to know nothing about it, feeling it to be a dangerous, nasty, besmirching topic, against which the only defense is ignorance. As

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we go up the scale of dominance-feeling, objectivity becomes more and more evident. A simple way of testing these observations experimentally would be to correlate ego-level with attitude scores toward any of the institutions or issues connected with sex, e.g., contraception, companionate marriage, double standard, monogamy, etc. Our prediction is that a significant positive correlation would be found between dominance-feeling and unconventional or "liberal" attitudes.

What is true for sexual topics also is true for the general eliminative processes. Low dominance women will never talk about them unless absolutely necessary. For instance, one woman reports that in a gathering, she suffered severe discomfort because she was afraid or too shy to stand up and go to the toilet since everybody would notice her leaving. Such women will always use the "bathroom" rather than the toilet, often explain that they wish to wash their hands. They slink into stores carefully selected because they have lady attendants in order to get necessary but embarrassing sanitary supplies. They are never or rarely willing to use any of the words connected with elimination or menstruation. They are often willing to undergo physical and mental torture rather than go to a physician who might embarrass them by examinations or cross-questioning.

In contrast with these attitudes are those of the high dominance women to which we approach gradually as we go higher and higher in the scale of dominance. All natural processes are discussed when necessary, with the same lack of emotion and embarrassment they would show in a discussion of eating. Circumlocutions are less and less used; menstruation is menstruation and not "being sick," urination is urination, and not "washing my hands," sexual organs are spoken of by their scientific names, not as "down there." In some, a certain amount of ribald joking and slang words of a Rabelaisian sort center about sex, elimination, and menstruation.

15. *Crying, Nail Biting, "Nervousness," Tics*

We found little or no relationship between ego-level and amount of weeping, to our surprise. The women in our highest brackets of dominance-feeling do not cry, but crying may be found with approximately equal frequency any place else on the scale. There is also more tendency-to-weep in low cases. As we might expect, however,

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the effective stimulus for weeping differs at least a little in different parts of our population. The woman with middle or somewhat higher dominance is more apt to cry from anger than from hurt. Generally it is our feeling that we must again have recourse to some factor of "security" rather than to dominance-feeling as an explanation for weeping. It is probably more accurate to say that the insecure person tends to weep, than it is to say that the low dominance person tends to weep.

We found even less relationship between ego-level and nervous habits. Probably there is no relationship at all. These too are probably more closely related to ego-security as well as to more specific emotion factors.

16. *Self-Evaluation, Self-Esteem*

We have already indicated the relationship between inferiority feelings and ego-level. An increasing tendency is found as we go down in the dominance scale, to self-depreciation, self-distrust, and low self-evaluation. The ramifications of this fact in behavior are tremendously extensive. For instance, an opinion held by someone else is far more apt to be held valid than one's own opinion if one is low in dominance-feeling. Others are felt to be more intelligent, more attractive, more healthy, better dressed, more wise, more poised, more *everything*. This attitude will be involved in such widely diverse activities as picking a new hat, a college course, a political opinion, or even a husband. This low self-evaluation seems to be basic to the generally increased social suggestibility of lower dominance women.

Higher dominance women usually say "I'm as good as anybody else." Low dominance women more usually say "I wish I were more like Mary" or "I should like to have some of Jane's self-confidence." General self-esteem increases as dominance-feeling increases. Low dominance women usually admire and respect others more than they do themselves.

17. *Envy, Jealousy, Suspicion, Resentment, Distrust*

These reactions are found more typically in lower dominance women as a consequence of several other factors that we have already mentioned, namely, low self-evaluation, inferiority-feelings, modesty, lack of self-respect, low self-confidence, etc. For instance low dom-

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inance women can not "take" compliments in spite of the fact of their need and hunger for them. This is because they are apt at once to discount the compliment as untrue and seek suspiciously for other motives. Often, for example, they may think the compliment is making fun of them, holding them up to ridicule, or else trying to get something out of them. For a suitor to convince such a woman that he loves her takes a very long time, and often his sincerity is doubted even after marriage. In a few cases, the reaction has been observed, "Something must be wrong with him that I don't know about if he loves (poor) me."

The experimenter during the course of some interviews, attempted a simple experiment in therapy. It consisted simply of assuring such people that they weren't as bad as they thought they were, that they were underestimating themselves, etc. In almost all cases he had to stop because he found that such attempts were regarded either as subtle ridicule, or else it was being said "Just because you're a psychologist and I guess that's your job." Several such subjects came back to the experimenter some time after the interviews had ceased to find out if it was possible that John or Dick could really be in love with them. Such doubts are rarely or never entertained by higher dominance women, who take it as part of the natural course of things that they should be admired and loved by some at least.

It is fair to say that as we go down in the dominance distribution, that we find somewhat increased hostility, suspicion, and distrust, not as overtly observable phenomena, but in fantasy, unexpressed attitudes, dreams, and as deductions from behavior otherwise unexplainable. It is probable that investigation of the deeper layers of the personality would show this far more clearly (psychoanalysis), but it is apparent even without such deep analysis.

It may seem superficially that these findings are not consistent with the tremendous respect shown for authority, with idolization and imitation and imitation of others, with the complete "voluntary" subordination to others, and in general with the great respect for others. Actually they can be consistent. These latter attitudes are overt; the former (envy, distrust, etc.) are covert. Then, too, they tend to be alternating points of view in the same person. That is, an idol will be worshipped for a time, and this may give way to hatred and resentment for a time for some reason, to be again replaced by over-respect and idolatry at a later time.

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Undoubtedly these reactions also involve a second source, insecurity. Which of the two, dominance-feeling or insecurity, is more important or more closely related, we cannot say. Generally these feelings when they come to the surface, are explained by the subject as resentment because she is controlled so much by other people while she controls them not at all; that their opinions matter so much and hers not at all; that she is so "considerate" and gives in so frequently while they rarely do; that she is not consulted or respected; that she should not give in so often because it is "unhealthy" or not "well balanced"; that other people take advantage of her; that she ought to be "stronger" than she actually is. Such attempts to be stronger and more forceful are, however, rare and are usually abortive, being then replaced by the more customary behavior. Undoubtedly cultural pressures and evaluations are involved in such revolts. Such people realize eventually, or the realization is forced upon them by the comments and criticisms of others, that they are not behaving "as they should," that they are weak and easily exploited (that they are deviants from the cultural ideal), and the resulting self-castigation and lowering of self-esteem sometimes leads to sporadic efforts to "improve."

18. *Quietness, Neatness, Temper, Politeness*

Increase in all these qualities except for "temper" is found with decrease in dominance-feeling. We are not able to see why low dominance women should tend (somewhat) to be more neat than high dominance women, but the other qualities are easily related to other characteristics of low dominance-feeling. The low dominance woman generally finds it very difficult to say "No." A strong request is usually acceded to even if it may be completely undesirable or unwanted.[3] Also she usually finds it quite impossible to express hostile feelings. It is possible for another person to find out indirectly after years of supposed friendship that she was hated and

[3]A onetime subject, low in dominance-feeling had offered to help me with some stenographic work. She was seen later and asked if she were still willing to help. She said that she was. I was by now aware of her characteristic inability to refuse and urged her to be sure not to accept if it was even slightly inconvenient, but she seemed quite eager to help. Some weeks later I found that my request came just before an intensive examination period, that she had to stay up for whole nights to do what I asked, and that she hated me violently during every minute that she did work, upbraiding herself for not having been strong enough to refuse.

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resented all the time. This in spite of the fact that the low dominance woman might have behaved beautifully during all this time. Bursts of temper are possible only within the most restricted social radius, being in some cases completely unthinkable outside this radius. Such women express envy and admiration for those who have "nerve" enough to say what they think, and courage enough to show anger when it is necessary.

Quietness is a concomitant of shyness, inferiority feelings, and a general feeling that anything they could say would be stupid and would be laughed at. General conventionality also is at the bottom of a good deal of the low dominance politeness, and good temper.

19. *Sense of Humor*

The relationship between sense of humor and dominance-feeling is not a simple one, nor a direct one. Still no picture of the character of the low dominance woman would be complete without a consideration of the way in which her sense of humor is affected by her personality position. Her sensitivity and readiness to feel that she is being made fun of makes it impossible for her to be the butt of jokes; she is too easily hurt, too apt to go home and weep because nobody likes her and everybody makes fun of her. This is true even when the jokes are mild and made in the best of humor and without malice. As for herself, she is most often not daring enough to make jokes or tell stories that will focus the attention of the group upon her for the moment. Her sense of humor is apt to be turned inward, to become delicate, whimsical and private, rather than coarse, bawdy, or even hearty. It is interesting to notice that typically she cannot laugh heartily, easily, and without restraint or self-consciousness. If she has been dragged or forced into a party (she is apt not to go otherwise), she prefers to sit back in a corner and not be seen or heard. She *cannot* take part in the fun. At the same time such an experience is apt to be a rather harrowing or saddening one, since her sense of isolation is sharpened by being "out of it." Weeping privately in bed at night is too often the result.

20. *Sociability, Friendliness*

So far as the *feeling* of sociability goes, it seems that this is unrelated to dominance-feeling. Most people, whatever their personality position may be, have turned out to want friends. The few who

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prefer isolation for its own sake at times, and who live the most important part of their lives privately have been scattered through the whole dominance distribution.

So far as *behavior* and actual overt sociability and friendliness are concerned, there is a very definite relationship with ego-level. Generally we find the *ability* to be friendly and to have friends increase as we go up the scale. The low dominance woman or man may not have a friend in the world, in spite of the fact of the passionate desire to be able to have friends and to behave as others do. Fantasies are often about having a true, loyal friend. The reasons for the inability to be friendly are many and must be obvious by now after the discussion above. Sensitivity, inferiority feelings, suspicion, the sense of isolation, all play their part.

21. *Suggestibility, Hypnotizability*

It would seem from our results that these characteristics are more complex than has usually been thought. It has already been indicated that with lower dominance-feeling, we get certain behaviors that can be considered as indicative of greater suggestibility. Certainly respect for prestige of any kind increases as we go down the scale of dominance. At the same time it has been the personal experience of the writer that the most hypnotizable subjects have been high in dominance-feeling. He has failed utterly in his few attempts to hypnotize low dominance people deeply. Apparently the reasons for this were several. They could not relax as the high dominance subjects could. They were afraid of the idea of hypnosis as the high dominance women were not, and finally they became emotionally upset and excited by the close approach of the operator, becoming tense, breathing more rapidly, and with an accelerated pulse.

Thus we can say that social or prestige suggestibility has a fairly high negative correlation with dominance-feeling; that we seem to have a little evidence that hypnotizability is correlated with dominance-feeling; and finally, what little evidence we have indicates a lack of correlation of dominance-feeling with sheer ideo-motor suggestibility.

22. *Likes and Dislikes, Aesthetic Tastes, etc.*

We can report only general and perhaps vague impressions on this

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subject since no systematic investigation was made. Certain tentative hypotheses have been suggested by various incidental observations. It seems to us that with higher dominance there goes a certain robustness and heartiness of tastes. For instance, it seems that higher dominance people enjoy eating and drinking more than lower dominance people. They seem to like what might be called the hearty foods, strong cheese, red meat, strong drink, etc. They eat more and with more gusto. There is less genteel picking at a delicate salad and more "wading into" a meal.

A tentative exploration into aesthetic tastes indicates that research here promises to be fruitful. There are indications of deep-lying and characteristic differences in preferences for various kinds of music, poetry, painting, and writing. The low dominance woman, if we are correct, would tend to like the delicate and lovely rather than the strong and crude in art, the precious rather than the forthright, Mozart, let us say, rather than Beethoven, Raphael rather than Rubens, Keats rather than Chaucer. The tendency probably would be to dislike a sculptor like Gaston Lachaise, or painters like some of the modern American school, e.g., Burchfield, Marsh, Benton. Undoubtedly they would dislike Rabelais, D. H. Lawrence, or Dreiser.

These are intended only as suggestions for research rather than as definite findings. Certainly the Terman Masculinity-Femininity test (23), which probably correlates significantly with ego-level, indicates differences in tastes and likes with differences in personality position.

23. *Leadership*

It must be clear that the high dominance woman would make the best leader. This we have found to be the case. The woman who is definitely below the middle of the dominance distribution is quite unfitted for leadership by the makeup of her personality. Furthermore she does not want to be a leader except in her fantasies, for she is afraid of being in the forefront, she is afraid of responsibility, and she feels that she would be incompetent. In any case she is never chosen by the group.

The fact that the high dominance woman would make the best leaders does not guarantee that, in actual social life, they do in fact become the leaders. For one thing many of them do not care for leadership in most instances, feeling the triviality of the work

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that is so often required. This is particularly true of the "secure" ones. The "insecure" ones, needing the reassurance of prestige more, are apt to accept or even seek for any leadership that will bring dominance status. Then too we must consider the fact that when leaders are chosen by vote other considerations besides competence enter. We found that the high dominance woman is apt to be disliked by low dominance women. The person who is apt to be chosen is the one who is of the mass or group but somewhat higher in dominance-feeling than the average of the group, probably someone at or near the 75 percentile of the group. The highest ones are apt to be impatient of triviality, gossip, small-talk, and the like, giving to the other women in the group the impression of being hard, cold, or snobbish. In any case we may say that the leaders in any field are practically certain to be in the upper half of the dominance distribution of the group.

24. *Some Other Qualities*

Filial love and responsibility is greater in those of low ego-level, all other things being held equal. That is, given a selfish, domineering, or hateful mother, a low dominance woman is much more apt to be dutiful and give the appearance of love than a high dominance woman.

Sheer general activity or energy seems to be completely unrelated to ego-level.

The love of adventure, new experience, novelty and new ideas is seen more often in high than in low dominance people. For instance the former are much more apt to try new foods, to like meeting new people, etc.

Pride is an extremely complex quality. It cannot be discussed in the simple terms we have used. Generally high dominance people feel more "prideful" than low dominance people, but this correlation does not often hold for prideful behavior, for the necessities of the situation and cultural pressures are also potent factors in the determination of such behavior.

Fear of ridicule, fear of disapproval, fear of not being liked, and fear of being hurt, are all apt to be stronger in low dominance people but are also related to ego-insecurity. For instance all these qualities may be found in the compensator, who usually seems to be of about middle dominance feeling. Sensitivity to rivalry is found most often in compensators.

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25. *Insecurity (Ego-Insecurity)*

At present, this is little more than a deductive construct that has been forced upon us by the inadequacy, at certain points, of dominance-feeling to explain various kinds of behavior, particularly compensatory dominance behavior. Crudely conceived as it is, it is almost certainly independently variable to a large extent, of dominance-feeling. We have found secure and insecure people at all parts of the dominance distribution. Secure people are at home in a friendly world, never think of suicide, are more apt to be deeply happy, are less apt to compensate, find it more easy to submit and be relaxed, and soft when necessary or desirable, are more friendly, more calm, less emotional, less threatened by future emergencies, worry less, are less easily thrown out of their emotional balance, are less affected by the opinions or dislikes of other people, strive less for dominance status (recognition, glory, fame, etc.), are less apt to dominate others in their behavior if they are high in dominance-feeling, are less apt to think others are a challenge, are less "nervous," are less easily hurt. Insecure people will show opposite characteristics. They seem to feel generally that they live in a hostile, challenging world rather than a friendly beneficent one. Some of these characteristics we have already related to dominance-feeling. This is not a contradiction. We are certain that dominance-feeling, important though it may be, is not the only important main variable in personality and social behavior. We feel that in the future some such variable as we have indicated roughly here as "ego-security" will also have to be invoked in order to give a fuller and more fundamental understanding of personality. Ruth Benedict (2) has recently given it a fuller cross-cultural reference, correlating it with the institutional stresses in various cultures.

26. *Compensation*

Of all the problems connected with this research, compensation still remains the most pressing as well as the most stubborn. We have little to add to the discussion in our previous paper (16), except that further investigation has confirmed the hypotheses there set forth, and also has indicated the greater stress that must be laid on the contributory factor of ego-security. We have continued to find highest percentages of compensation among Jewish women, next

highest among women of Catholic background, and least among women of Protestant or non-religious background.

It is just the compensating case, for all the difficulty that it may be causing now, that promises to be the best point for study of a very vexing question, namely, the possible necessity of the invocation of "unconscious motivation" in our study.[4] While we feel sure that a technique such as ours, simple as it is, is nevertheless adequate for the study of relatively normal, well-adjusted, secure personalities, we are just as sure that it is *not* in itself adequate to investigate the neurotic, insecure, anxious person. In such a person, we can learn a good deal by our form of questioning, but eventually we must feel baffled. We are presented with the choice of being quite empirical, and getting a fundamentally false picture of the personality (since our technique relies very largely on the subject's own awareness of his own motivations), or else we embark on the sea of interpretation, which we explicitly set out to avoid. That is, we weigh, accept, reject, or modify, what the subject says rather than accept it at face value, as we can do with non-compensating cases.

Essentially the compensator is trying to convince himself as well as others, and sometimes he succeeds, at least unconsciously. As well as putting up psychological defenses in the realm of social behavior, he has put them up in his introspective world, and is fooling himself as well as others.[5] It matters not that the experienced psychologist can often detect this "psychological front" very easily; we are now considering the validity of a technique that consists of using as ultimate data, a person's own conscious self-estimate. On the basis of such statements in the interview, it has been necessary to rate as high in dominance-feeling, some cases (compensators) who were surely not what they thought they were, and who would have been rated otherwise if we had permitted ourself access to the unconscious conflicts and motivations, and to interpretation. It might be said then that such people may have been consciously high and unconsciously low, in dominance-feeling.

It must be understood that this is a theoretical, not a practical

[4]The discussion that follows is due to an exchange of ideas with Dr. Erich Fromm.

[5]This may seem like interpretation rather than description, but it must be remembered that our definition of compensation was an objective one (16, p. 417).

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question in the present investigation. Those cases in which unconscious motivations were felt to be primarily important were kept at a minimum, were dropped or avoided altogether. Our rough estimate is that such cases will be found to be no more than 10 to 15 per cent of the college population.

We may fairly say then that the general indications of our study are that the importance of unconscious motivations has been definitely overrated in the understanding of the personality of relatively "normal," well-adjusted people. It has, however, turned out to be very important in the investigation of relatively "abnormal," poorly-adjusted, insecure, or neurotic people. Even in such cases, however, simple interviewing can give us more insight than might have been expected. As an adjunct to customary psychoanalytic procedure, it might save much time.

D. Discussion

1. *The Problem of Definition*

The reader will have noticed that an important theoretical difficulty was glossed over in the discussion of the data. We have spoken of the correlation of dominance-feeling with this or that, as if it were something separate and apart from all these behaviors. This is not the case. It is unfortunate that dominance-feeling, in itself, cannot be given very clear definition. The definition that we have used amounts to a list of the feelings it correlates with. But then the difficulty arises that a very important basis for the rating of dominance-feeling has been a list of just these feelings, involving the further problem of self-correlation.

The concept of the syndrome has been borrowed from the field of medicine, partially to meet these difficulties and partially because it seems to be an inevitable way of describing personality, which tends always to be a unified whole. The syndrome concept allows us to do what we usually must as scientists, namely to analyze atomistically, at the same time that it forces us always to keep in mind the unitary character of large parts or the whole of personality. Definitions in terms of syndromes tend to be operational in nature, and therefore, probably, more valid and useful scientifically. We may then define dominance-feeling as a system of interrelated parts or units and we present in this paper one aspect of this syndrome.

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Other modes of definition are possible. Various grades or levels of dominance-feeling may be defined typologically in terms of the complex feelings of single actual or mythical people, "typical" of each of the levels defined. Another possible definition is to speak of a factor *"D"* assumed to be at the bottom of all the interrelated parts of the syndrome. That is, all the parts may be assumed to be correlated because of common participation in a single source of energy or determination, perhaps similar to the Jungian *libido*. This latter type of definition would attempt to come to grips with the eventual necessity of advancing beyond mere descriptive definition. (The syndrome definition is an entirely descriptive one.) Since there is also some indication that endocrinological factors may be partially involved in the determination of ego-level, eventual definition may be psycho-physiological in part (6).

One positive statement can be made in this connection, namely, that definition in behavioral terms is definitely unsatisfactory. We have already discussed the lack of necessary relationship between dominance-feeling and dominance behavior. Because of this, one cannot be defined in terms of the other. While there is no doubt that behavioral study of personality must be made if we are to get a complete picture, there is equally little doubt that the naïve behavioristic view of personality is quite unsound.

2. *Patterning within the Syndrome*[6]

We have so far discussed the parts of the syndrome as if they formed what Wertheimer calls an "and-sum," a mere additive summation of unrelated, equally valid items. It is necessary to point out that the case is quite otherwise, that there is patterning within the syndrome, that certain parts of it seem, in one sense or another, to be prior to other parts, that some seem to be sub-aspects of others, and that there is a tendency for the various items to cluster together in spontaneous and "natural" groupings. For instance, conventionality, morality, modesty, and regard for rules, seem to fall together very naturally, say, as contrasted with another group of clustering qualities, namely, high self esteem, self confidence, poise, lack of timidity and shyness, unembarrassability, and the like.

In spite of many attempts, no satisfactory system of groupings

[6] I wish to thank Dr. Max Wertheimer for calling my attention to this point.

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can be presented here, and we shall not discuss this question further. We do wish, however, to disclaim the apparent atomism that seems latent in our presentation of the data.

3. *Dominance-Feeling as Lack of Inhibition*

Our data indicate that the higher people are in the scale of dominance-feeling, the more they are apt to lack tension, restraint, or inhibition, although this relationship is probably somewhat attenuated by a similar relationship of lack of inhibition with ego-security. This conclusion has been confirmed by Eisenberg (3) in his experiment with dominance-feeling and expressive movements. The high dominance-woman may be spoken of as psychologically free, easy, and relaxed. The low dominance woman is strained, tense, and inhibited. It is difficult or impossible for her to drop her psychological guards or defenses. As a result, it is sometimes difficult for her to "submit" in a psychological sense, that is to be friendly, to make herself vulnerable voluntarily, to expose herself psychologically, to let herself be seen.

In a sense, a high dominance person is incompletely "socialized" in inner personality the low dominance person is "over-socialized." The former is apt to recognize aside from expediency, few restraints beyond her own desires, or the rules that she herself has set up to guide her behavior. She is to some extent non-normal, as well as being individual and independent. Taboos, rules, conventions, laws, mean less to her than they do to the average person. She has few guilt feelings and little conscience.

These considerations have suggested to the writer a hypothesis that offers a different view of dominance-feeling. That is, that the distribution of dominance, from high to low, may represent a steadily decreasing amount of psychological "freedom." As we go up the scale we find less and less inhibition (or what Freud calls super-ego). In other words, high dominance-feeling may be not so much a positive quality as a *lack* of something (restraint, inhibition, super-ego, etc.) which is acquired in a steadily increasing quantity as we go down the scale.

Such a way of envisaging the data would necessitate a complementary hypothesis; that the behaviors, attitudes, and feelings of the high dominance woman are, so to speak, more "natural" than they are in the lower dominance woman. What we have called

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low dominance-feeling or ego-level would then be thought of as a positive covering up of underlying, more deeply determined behaviors and feelings.

It will be seen that we have here many resemblances to the Freudian doctrine of structure of personality (4), with its stress on the ontogenetic primacy of the *"id,"* from which develops the ego and all its sub-parts. The more primary impulses come from the *id,* and in a certain sense are "covered up," redirected, reshaped, or altogether denied. It is just this covering up, reshaping, or denying, that we find so frequently in the low, and so infrequently in the high dominance woman. Our analysis of sexuality and dominance (14) has shown that dominance-feeling and sexual attitude are very highly correlated. Sexual attitude was defined in terms of (at one extreme) complete acceptance of everything sexual, and (at the other end) complete sexual rejection. These amount to much the same as inhibition and lack of it, restraint and lack of it. The woman rated very high in sexual attitude accepts everything, promiscuity, homosexuality, masturbation, sadism, masochism, sodomy, coprophilia, cunnilingus, fellatio, and experimentation of every conceivable kind. It would seem as if every sexual impulse or desire that has ever been spoken of may emerge freely and without inhibition in these women. Exactly the opposite is true of the low-dominance woman. Here we have then a specific example of what is meant when we propose to think of the low dominance woman as inhibited and restrained. If we are to take the psychoanalysts at their word, the presumption will be that sexual attitude has been "high" in all people in their early days, even in our low dominance women. Presumably also, some traces of this high sexual attitude are still present in the deeper layers of their personality but these have been "covered up" or repressed. In the high dominance woman, on the other hand, where, according to our hypothesis, this repression has not taken place, this high attitude can be seen expressing itself openly.

This hypothesis is presented as an interesting possibility, rather than as one which we can prove at this time. It raises too many questions to be evaluated without further research.

4. *The Rôle of Cultural Pressures and Social Norms*

We have attempted to indicate throughout the tremendously im-

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portant rôle of general and specific cultural influences on dominance-feeling. There is little doubt that any consideration of the etiology of dominance-feeling, its aims, techniques, and effects, must take primary recourse to the general cultural background, as well as the multitude of more local specific, sub-cultural pressures and norms. We feel, for instance, that the easily observable fact of craving for dominance is culturally produced because of the presence of social norms that favor higher rather than lower dominance-feeling, status, and behavior. Cultures are now known in which no such social norm exists, e.g., Arapesh, and in which the person who strives for dominance status is a deviant (17).

Whereas we have had to speak often of culture, it has not been necessary to speak of biological determination. It has been our opinion, and we are even more confirmed in it now, that the biological influences on personality have been exaggerated. In any textbook on the subject, one is apt to find far more space assigned to hormones than to social norms. We believe that this exaggeration will soon be found misleading and unproductive, and that social psychology will turn more and more to the study of man-in-a-culture rather than man-as-an-animal. We do not intend this as an all-or-none statement. Nor do we wish to exaggerate in the opposite direction. There is in psychology a definite place, even a need for, some concept of temperament, in the sense of deep-lying chemical, physical, innate determinants of personality. Unfortunately, nothing can be said about this because so little constructive research on this point is available.

5. *The Character of Syndrome Change and Its Relation to Personality*

The syndromes, both of dominance-feeling and of dominance behavior, usually change as a whole, and not piecemeal. (See for animals 10, p. 270, and 13, p. 194.) The separate parts of these syndromes are interchangeable and have similar or equivalent psychological meaning. This is true in humans as well as in animals, although not to the same extent (especially for behavior). The syndromes of feeling can be described with amazingly complex possibilities of alternative detailed expression.

The use of the syndrome concept has thrown an increasingly clear light on the useless and misleading character of the causality con-

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cept in dealing with personality. The eternal question has been "What *causes* this behavior?" and as a result psychologists have spent much time trying to discover whether shyness causes inferiority feeling or inferiority feeling causes shyness, whether social ease caused self-confidence or self-confidence causes social ease, and the like. The worst offenders in this regard have been the psychoanalysts. Because these characteristics or "symptoms" are part of an interrelated syndrome, they are always found to be correlated, and present at the same time or in a certain sequence, and therefore, following an outmoded philosophy of causality, they are put down as cause and effect. From such a procedure, only confusion can follow, since, as may be clearly realized now, these "causes" are absolutely interchangeable.[7]

This principle has an even wider application, namely to the relation of the syndrome as a whole to admittedly external influences, which have also been called "causes." We are convinced that, ordinarily, effective external influences, whether contemporary or historical, do not affect single parts of the syndrome, but *rather influence the syndrome as a whole.* Changes in behavior that appear, consequent upon these external stimulations, spring from or are related to changes in the general syndrome. They are not direct "effects" of the external influences.

Thus, for example, instead of saying that John underwent a traumatic experience that causes such and such behavior to appear and persist, we should rather say (in most cases), that such and such a series of shocks changed John's self-confidence (or self esteem or dominance-feeling), *and all its correlates.* Since these syndromes of feelings and attitudes are to some extent automatically related to impulse-to-behavior, the behavior also changes, and we have John behaving as he now does.[8] That is, external circumstances change inner personality, and also, consequently, change behavior to some extent.

[7]See Dr. Karen Horney's (5) concept of the "vicious circle," another attempt in this direction.

[8]We imply here a distinction between behavior and impulse-to-behavior. We do this advisedly. It is our conception that a wish, a feeling, or an attitude carries with it automatically a corresponding impulse-to-behavior. If it has not already been made obvious, it may be stated explicitly at this point that these impulses-to-behavior are part of the dominance-feeling syndrome. Of course these impulses-to-behavior often spill over into overt behavior, but, as we have pointed out repeatedly, the overt behavior is far more subject to inhibition by cultural demands than is impulse-to-behavior.

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It is easy to observe how this concept works in clinical practice when a patient is impelled by some outstanding change in his behavior, to come for help. It is usually found, if this behavior has any relation to the dominance-feeling syndrome, that there has been a change in this syndrome, that it has changed as a whole, and also *that there have been widespread and interrelated changes in behavior at the same time.* The complaint may be, for instance, compulsive promiscuity, but thorough investigation, in perhaps four cases out of five, reveals many other behavior changes that are not so obvious, just as it reveals the ordinarily neglected fact, that the dominance syndrome as a whole has also changed. Thus to repeat, the formula would run, these experiences change the inner personality, and (since the personality is definitely related to tendency-to-behavior in such a way that changing the personality means automatically changing this tendency-to-behavior also), at the same time, they change the behavior (within culturally set bounds). External influences change or influence a whole human being, not merely a bit or a part of a human being.

6. *Inner and Outer Personality*

Much confusion in the study of personality could be avoided if sufficient account were taken of the important distinction between inner and outer personality (or inner personality and social behavior, or implicit and explicit personality) (21). We have demonstrated in previous papers that a certain behavior may be related to any one of several motivating or underlying states, and conversely, that a certain inner state may be related to, or give rise to, any one of several behaviors. We have also demonstrated the uncertain correlation between dominance-feeling and dominance-behavior, and have stressed the fact that one cannot predict accurately from one to the other. Furthermore, we have stressed what we consider to be a most significant fact, namely that the inhibitory control by cultural pressures is far greater and more effective for dominance behavior than it is for dominance-feeling (or to generalize, culture controls outer personality or behavior more than it does inner personality).

These facts, and the distinction (between inner and outer personality), that they support, are relevant to any discussion of that

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now raging problem between specificity or generality of personality traits. In brief, our contention is that when inner personality is studied, generalized, persistent "traits" of personality may be found. When behavior, or "outer personality" is studied, then we are much more apt to find specificity of personality reactions. We feel, furthermore, that deduction from one kind of study to the other is risky, unless empirically supported.

To some extent, this would follow on a priori grounds from a consideration of the mode of cultural impacts on personality. The folkways that control behavior are often (not always) highly specific, and hold for definite situations and circumstances. For instance, in our culture, the circumstances under which we may appear in a swimming suit are very circumscribed and specific (22). The same is true for evening gowns, overalls, pajamas, etc. They are enjoined in one situation, forbidden in another. So with honesty behavior (aside from copy books and ethical treatises). Stealing pennies from a blind man's cup is absolutely forbidden; stealing pennies from large corporations is not, indeed it is even encouraged in some quarters. The expression of hostility is highly socialized in the same sense. There are times when one *must,* other times when one just as surely must not. If this principle be granted, and it is also admitted that cultural control over social behavior is stringent, then we may begin to understand that specificity of social behavior is, at least partly, a function of the specific nature of the cultural control. This also explains in part the possibility of great changes in social behavior in an individual from year to year and from decade to decade.

It would be just as true that where the folkways are patterned, this patterning would be reflected to some extent as patterning in the social behavior of individuals.

The situation is not the same for inner personality which is also to a large extent a social product, but in a different sense. For it is when we deal with the interiorization of social norms that we encounter psychic inertia at its strongest. This interiorization takes place in the early life of the individual, and after that remains as a relatively stable portion of the personality. [It is this fact that makes us feel that we need not modify our conclusions even with the acceptance of a field theory like Gardner Murphy's (19).]

Attitudes, feelings, affective sets, dominant motivations and the

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like are, from all we know, formed and fixed at an early age. Some change undoubtedly occurs, which must surely be largely assignable to social influences. Such change however, slow as it is, cannot be compared with the determination of the appearance of social behavior by the immediate social field. We need not be surprised then if inner personality is stable and enduring. (See also Adler's concept of "life-style.")

The implications of the foregoing distinctions are considerable. It must be obvious that a purely behavioral approach to personality takes the long way round, to say the least, and even, because of limitations of method, may possibly not even hope to learn all there is to learn about personality. This amounts to saying that what people feel, think, and wish, is as important as what they do, if the aim is to understand personality. In this we agree with the psychoanalysts, who have long claimed that the academic psychologist scratched the surface and neglected the most important aspects of personality. At the same time, we do feel that it is quite possible to study inner personality in an acceptably scientific fashion.[9]. Undoubtedly the most promising mode of approach available now is one that would simultaneously study both inner and outer aspects of important facets of personality.

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[9]Such study must deal necessarily with the problem of trust, faith, "transference," rapport, or whatever we may call it, that enables a subject to perceive the lack of a censorial attitude and consequently permits him to report freely and accurately, his attitude, wishes, feelings, etc. Without such a relationship between subject and investigator inner personality cannot be studied directly.

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